

577 particular, although it would certainly be utterly immodest for any
834 grown-up woman purposelessly to take off her tapis completely, even
291 though seen only from behind; and going around half-naked is not
to be recommended, even to a married woman, when in the presence
of outsiders."

In 1927, while on my way to Karagawan, I followed the course of
the river which I had to cross at every turn; so my Isneg carrier
took off his G-string at the first crossing and did not put it on again,
except on a certain occasion, when we were approaching a house.
"Wait a moment", he said, "I shall put on my G-string, as who
knows but there may be some women at home there espying me".

At the teachers' house I had a talk with the mother of one of the
Iloko teachers, and, in the course of the conversation, she related to
me how astonished the Isneg women of that place had been, when
she had told them that she wore no G-string. "But suppose your
saya came off, would not your genitalia be exposed to view?" they
had exclaimed, with horror painted all over their faces. The Isneg
have a special qualifying term for an Isneg woman who wears no
G-string: she is called *panñaw*.

577 Several years ago, there came an order, I believe from the Bureau
834 of Education, that all school children should pass a physical examin-
291 ation before the physician of the district; but very soon the order had
177 to be revoked, as otherwise it was feared that an uprising would
occur among our Mountain people. The Isneg in particular could
find no plausible reason for any man causing a girl to take off her
garments in his presence.

836 "All Isneg boys should be careful not to render a girl pregnant:
577 this is one of the delinquencies that are abhorred more than anything
684 else among the Isneg. You may be inclined to sow your wild oats;
that is but natural, but here you have to look out. You should
never under any pretext impregnate a girl whom you could not
marry afterwards, and even though you could make her your wife,
it would still be a dangerous thing to do; suppose some obstacle
comes in the way, you know the consequences; you know very well
that the relatives of the offended girl will get the *audt*: they will
raid your house and carry away your precious jars, your beads and
all that is valuable. There is no mercy for a boy who has committed
a crime like that; so do not be rash: fornication is a dangerous thing.
When you go to court the girls (*mamaddy*) in the evening, use
love charms and try to win the girl you love; to force her against

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her consent would be utter recklessness or, rather, out of the ques- 836
 tion: you would never escape unscathed from the place of your 577
 crime. For the rest be careful; even if the girl consents, always 684
 remember what pregnancy brings in its wake; so the surest way is
 to keep oneself free from such entanglements.

"Girls should never be very familiar with young men. Boys will [431]
 tempt you with fine words and beautiful promises, they will bring
 you clothes and trinkets as gifts, but beware. Never give yourself
 over to any boy at night, never allow him to touch you indecently when
 he comes to talk to you in the evening. Do not even allow him to
 finger your breasts: all this is dangerous play. Just think what it
 would mean to have a child before marriage; would that not be an
 eternal shame! And just imagine the scolding you would get from
 your parents, the turmoil in which the whole settlement would be
 thrown, and the difficulty you would encounter from now on in
 looking for a husband. You are allowed to marry young, so let
 everything take its usual course. Boys will always be boys; besides
 they are men, and so they are allowed a certain freedom; but you
 are a girl, you are a woman, and in your case nothing is allowed.
 An Isneg girl should never be a flirt. The boys will try to play with
 you; it is not for you to allow them to do so. Always show your
 resentment, when they have touched you the wrong way or been
 otherwise too familiar with you"

To touch a girl's breasts is *mogkabbdl* in Isneg, and it is said only 836
 of men. The existence of a special term like that serves to show 673
 that this must be something like a favorite sport among the Isneg. 684
 The following anecdote will help to prove the truth of that statement. 672
 On a certain occasion an Isneg boy was explaining to me a native
 term whose meaning was "purpose, intention", and as he could
 hardly do so without illustrating it by an example, he told me what
 follows: "Suppose you touch a girl's breasts and she is angry at you,
 then you say: 'I did not do it intentionally'", and here he used the
 term in question.

Chastity is certainly very strictly imposed upon unmarried people,
 or rather upon people who are not yet engaged, but from the Isneg
 point of view and with reference to young men, it should rather be
 defined: not to do anything that might render a girl pregnant. Not [842]
 that the Isneg know any contraceptive measures, but that the
 pregnancy of a girl is considered as the thing to be avoided, not
 fornication as such. Both are very nearly related to one another of

836 course, and the distinction seems rather to be theoretical than practical; nevertheless that is what is going on in the Isneg mind as far
673 as I understand it. To them purpose and intention mean very little,
684 as will be shown again very soon when I shall refer to killing as a
672 crime: what counts is the result. If a boy chances to sleep with a
girl without rendering her pregnant, the Isneg may perhaps not see
anything very wrong in the whole affair, but woe to him if fate is
against him.

836 Nevertheless with reference to young women, the code is much
stricter, although the boy will suffer a much harder immediate
684 punishment for his delinquency than will the girl. A girl should
never think of doing anything in that line; a boy might perhaps be
inclined to do it, but he should know the consequences, if the result is
what it should not be.

834 I have described in my introduction to this paper how certain
Isneg parents refused to send their girls to school on account of the
626 notoriously immoral conduct of their teacher, and here is what we
read in a little manual of instructions for soldiers of the Philippine
Constabulary: "No Isneg woman should be joked with or touched
by anyone. Christian cargadores or servants should be cautioned
about this, as serious trouble may result".

836 Once I heard a boy of some twelve years old, who was working for
wages here at Kabugaw, improvise a little song, probably in order to
533 render the work less heavy and to relieve his tiredness. The song
was not what you would call a religious one, but it served to show
very nicely the ideas current among these people, and at the same
time it proved that even the Isneg understood the meaning of what
is called an "occasion of sin" (in this case: the sin of impregnating
a girl). I may be permitted to write the song down exactly as I
heard it: "Do not approach my vulva, I do not want you to have
sexual intercourse with me, I am afraid of becoming pregnant: so
say the women".

836 A boy who has made a girl pregnant has to marry her; if he refuses,
the raids just referred to take place without exception, and the family
684 of the boy loses everything. The same happens when a married man
commits adultery with a girl and impregnates her; in his case of
course there is rarely question of marriage, and the raids take place
almost without exception. Formerly the boy must have been for-

[113] ² Camp John Hay Guide Book. A Trip to Ifugao and Bontoc. By Captain
Harrington W. Cochran, Coast Artillery Corps, 1923, p. 28.

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tunate if it stopped at that, as the whole affair usually became a *casus belli*.

This whole state of affairs tends very much to make one believe that solitary vice is considered as lawful and not at all forbidden to young men. One day while listening to a conversation among Isneg boys, I heard them talk about flashlights, which at the time had a very great vogue and were very much sought after. The youngsters in question wanted such a light in order to find their way when going to have sexual intercourse with girls in the evening: this was literally what they said. But would they really dare do it so often as they seemed to imply? In many cases would it not be rather to indulge themselves in company with the girls, without always taking the risk of making them pregnant?

On a similar occasion I saw a young man stretch himself out upon a heap of sand and mimic the conjugal act in the presence of several other young men who merely smiled at his behavior.

Would it be possible for young men to live chastely on such a principle namely, that the only crime in that line is making a girl pregnant? And this seems to be the Isneg view about the matter. With girls, I repeat it, the code is much stricter: they are allowed nothing. They should conserve their body pure and undefiled, even from the mere contact of young men. It is true that the only punishment, in case of pregnancy, would be a severe scolding, but their conduct is censured whenever something untoward happens, and besides the ultimate result, that of being rejected as a prospective bride by any decent young man, must certainly serve as a powerful deterrent.

"Honesty is an imperative virtue for every Isneg. 'Stealing should be loathed by all right-minded people. Never touch the property of others, do not take what does not belong to you. Why should you covet your neighbor's goods? Did you work in order to obtain them? Would you like others to rob you of the fruit of your labor? Another man's property should always be safe in your hands. Never allow anybody to suspect you of being dishonest; a thief is branded with an indelible mark that will make people distrust him at his mere approach. Never destroy the property of your neighbor; you have no right to do so: revenge would quickly follow your rash deed. If you find something that does not belong to you, give it back to the owner, it is still his, unless of course you know positively that it has been abandoned. Should the owner find his lost goods hidden in your

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deed done but the relatives of the dead soldier mustered together, went to Nagbabalayan, entered the house of the poor involuntary killer and rifled whatever they found of value.

A few months ago at Nagilian (municipal district of Namaltugan), a man ascended a coconut tree in order to gather a few nuts. Unfortunately, while he was dropping them on the ground, a child came running along and received the thump of one of the huge nuts on its head: the child fell down of course and lay unconscious. So soon as the parents and relatives heard about the whole affair, all head-axes were unsheathed, and terrible things might have happened, if the sanitary inspector, who was present at the time, had not assured the people that the child would live.

According to the Christian code, God rewards or punishes thoughts as well as deeds. Ordinary human justice does not bother about mere intentions that are not followed by deeds, but it recognizes the act of a man as a human act, it distinguishes an act done intentionally from one done involuntarily, it differentiates between culpable negligence and unavoidable accident. The Isneg code knows no such distinctions: an act is an act; the result is the only thing taken into consideration. The Isneg language has terms for "doing purposely, intention", and so on; but in practice the fact that something was done unintentionally makes little difference: it is not the guilt of a person that is considered, but only the result of his act.

"Adultery is a shameful crime, especially in women. An Isneg man should content himself with the wife or wives who have been paid for: avoid mixing with other women, such habits bring only woe in their wake. Take care never to make a young girl pregnant; whether the person who commits such a mistake be a married man or a young unmarried man, the result is the same, so I have not to insist upon the matter. Be not less careful when the woman in question is married: to excite the anger of her husband may have dire consequences. If you are caught in the act, who will blame the offended man for killing you? The right will ever remain on his side.

"An unfaithful wife is a thorn in the flesh; keep to your husband, never allow any other man to share your affections. No true Isneg will stand an adulteress: your husband will divorce you and you will have no recourse, your parents will be in duty bound to give back the price they received for you. Who will respect a woman who respects neither herself nor her husband? No excuse will save you from infamy. Your husband may be inclined occasionally to have

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831 intercourse with other women, that is natural, although it is a dangerous affair; but remember that he is a man, and that you are a woman: between the two there is no possible comparison. A man may take many liberties, while a woman may take none. What are peccadilloes in a man, are crimes in a woman. Beware of deceitful men who would come to entice you away from your rightful owner. Take heed in time, since once the thing is done, there is no longer a remedy, and repentance is too late".

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837 At my first visit to Nagbabalayan, a companion of mine wanted to take the picture of an Isneg woman who was pounding rice near her house. When he invited her to pose for him, she quickly demurred and added: "I am a married woman". She evidently misunderstood him, but the answer sufficiently proved what was her opinion about her responsibilities.

On a certain occasion my catechist, an Iloko Christian, went to light his cigar at that of a woman, who came smoking to the river, in order to draw water. Not knowing about his intentions, I was not able to warn him. Fortunately as he was my servant and a stranger at that, everything went on smoothly, although the woman at first strongly objected. The point was that she was married, and no Isneg is allowed to take such liberties with the wife of another man: in the eyes of an Isneg, acting that way means much more familiarity than an uninitiated person might suspect. This shows how strictly a married woman is hedged in, and how easily a man may be offended by an action that implies the smallest degree of familiarity with his wife.

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554 On my second visit to Bayag, in July 1929, I met there an Isneg policeman, who was an acquaintance of mine and who was a married man. On the day I was leaving Bayag, he also had to go to a neighboring settlement; so he accompanied me for a part of the road. Here I quote textually what he told me on that occasion, apparently indignant at the occurrence: "This morning I met with a strange case: a Bayag Isneg was scolding his daughter in my presence for having slept with me last night. I asked him if he objected to my using the girl, when she consented. He answered me he did not, of course, but he merely wanted to scold the girl; he said he had nothing against me, his intention was to teach his daughter decent manners. That was all right, of course, but why should he have done so while I was around and could hear him? He should have scolded the girl at a time I was out of earshot. Why! That fellow seemed to resent

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manaládag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákán*).

"A certain amount of *bási* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest

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obedience forcibly impresses upon their minds at the same time their duty of being diligent at work, as the parents do not fail to take them along when attending to their daily tasks, as soon as the youngsters are able to lend a helping hand.

Modesty, chastity, conjugal fidelity and temperance are virtues that are frequently subjects of very special teaching. Just as obedience is an ordinary topic of conversation when talking with the little ones, so the aforementioned virtues are often mentioned when young people receive some admonition or warning on the part of their parents. Besides, the knowledge of the consequences of immorality with unfortunate results and the punishment it entails helps not a little to deter Isneg youth from indulging in such excesses. After all this, it would be superfluous to tell young people of both sexes to sleep apart: the girls mostly attend to that without any special warning. In Bontok there are common dormitories for girls as well as for boys, and in many other places in the Mountain Province every village has its boys' dormitories. These institutions, which probably were originally planned as a safeguard to the morals of the young on account of the smallness of the huts of the natives, have since degenerated into haunts of vice. Among the Isneg the houses are fortunately large enough to keep the whole family together, so that the parents can watch the youngsters at leisure, if they choose to do so. Nevertheless the absence of rooms renders complete control very difficult. Although the Isneg have not to contend with the Bontok brothels, if I may call these girls' dormitories by such an ugly name, which in my opinion and experience they amply deserve, still they have not yet attained to perfection under this respect on account of the absence of separate rooms in their comparatively large and commodious dwellings.

Temperance in eating and drinking, although perhaps not so frequently inculcated as modesty, chastity and the rest, are nevertheless very clearly taught, especially to the boys; while the teaching of chastity as we understand it is, in the case of the Isneg, reduced to that of decent relations between the sexes. Sins against nature are never mentioned. Self-pollution is probably practised occasionally by some members of the male sex. Of other sins in that line I have never heard anything; by which of course I do not want to deny their existence, but simply to state that they are certainly not indulged in frequently and less so openly, as otherwise they would certainly have come to my notice.

855 comes for the boys to follow their father and for the girls to be left to her care. The best viands are always reserved for the little ones and dainties are stored away (*maxalimán*) for their future use. If a child gets sick, the parents will do their utmost to relieve the little sufferer; and if it is its fate, as the Isneg put it, to die, its elders' lamentations will follow it to the grave.

731 In times of famine the children are of course the biggest sufferers, not that the Isneg does not share with them whatever food he can lay hands on, but because growing boys and girls lack the sustenance they badly need at their age, which rarely fails to be followed by 858 results that affect them unfavorably for the rest of their life. I 597 have heard once of a hard-pressed Isneg who sold a child for money: this is certainly a rare exception, and, as all circumstances are not known to me (I am not even sure that it was his own child), I am not free to pronounce judgment on the transaction. What I know is that the family by whom the child was adopted would certainly not cause it to regret its former life, as far as material advantages are concerned; nevertheless this is not a sufficient excuse for such an act.

855 It may be asked if families differ much in their solicitude for the 867 proper moral upbringing of children, if some families are more religious-minded than others, if some families are more concerned than 184 others in watching over their children and in safeguarding them in 124 sex morality. What can I answer to such questions? I should like to make the following invitation to my inquirers: let them choose a certain district of the United States, say in Kansas or in Indiana or in whatever state they prefer, a district where there are no densely populated sections and where some ten thousand people are scattered over a comparatively large area, and then let them tell me the result of their investigations among inhabitants of that district with reference to the above questions. I am sure that their task would not be easier or more difficult than mine, in order to give a satisfactory survey of the situation. Nevertheless I shall try to give a few concrete instances that have come to my personal notice and which I can recall just now, leaving aside the Kankanay, among whom I resided from 1909 to 1915, and confining myself exclusively to the Isneg, with whom I have been living since 1925.

855 Take the settlement of Baliwanan. A Baliwanan girl was living 184 with the family of my catechist at Kabugaw, where she took care of the children, washed the clothes, and did other little chores. On a 836 certain day somebody told her father that a boy had entered the house

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at night and that the owners had allowed him to do so. He immediately set out for Kabugaw, firmly intent in claiming his daughter back, and he only desisted from his purpose after he had been convinced that the rumor was entirely unfounded. On the other hand another Baliwanan girl was allowed to follow a Kagayan into another village and to live maritally with him for a certain period of time, after which she came back home.

Go to another near-by settlement: some parents object to their daughters going to school for reasons given in the introduction of this paper, while others allow them not only to go to school but even to live at the house of the teacher.

Let us pass over to Talifugu. A girl becomes pregnant, and the case is dropped. The same man, a Kagayan, deflowers another girl with the same result, and he is left no peace until he marries her.

At Dagara: a girl has the reputation, which I understand to be deserved, of being of very loose morals; she is left all liberty by her parents; while the generality of the Dagara girls behave as decently as anywhere else.

I twice assisted at a small Isneg sacrifice, once at Ampaw and once at Abbil. In the former place, everything went on as if it were the most serious and most important act that could be performed by an Isneg: all details were attended to with the utmost earnestness and accuracy; while at Abbil, the whole ceremony seemed rather to be considered as an irksome duty: it looked like a joke when compared with the Ampaw case. It must be conceded that the Abbil people were more or less ill at ease on account of my presence; but I was equally present at Ampaw, and in the latter place I was even sitting much nearer the shaman than at Abbil, nevertheless the shaman and her helpers never flinched.

I have little chance to read books on anthropology, but I understand it has been stated in some of them that primitives think in common, that among primitives every community has something like one mind for all individuals; how exactly the books express it I do not know, but I am sure that my readers who know about it, understand what I mean. Now, I know nothing at all from personal experience about primitives living in other parts of the world, but with reference to our Mountain people, whether Negritos or Malays, Kankanay or Isneg, I dare say that anybody who would pass a few weeks among them, would not have to take the trouble any more to form an opinion on the subject or to try to frame some theory, the

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867 means "to suffer erection", and is used only of boys and girls who
831 have not yet attained the age of puberty; another term is in use
for adults.

867 And so we have reached the period between the age at which the
little one wears lower garments for the first time and that of puberty.
834 Formal teaching about the first elements of sex morality usually starts
291 about this time, and so little girls of this age are generally very
858 modest, although boys are not so meticulous. Provided they are
183 circumcised, the latter do not mind very much exposing their naked
body, and even when as yet uncircumcised, there is no comparison
between their behavior and that of their modest little sisters. For
the rest much freedom still exists, as my reference to the special term
just explained seems to indicate, so that it might be called a miracle
if the youngsters live a chaste life once they have attained the age
[835] of puberty. Recently a young man of some eighteen years old was
arrested for having violated his little sister who is barely six years
old; he said he wanted "to try".

• 836 Grown-up girls are of course much better in this respect than boys,
and both sexes usually observe the laws of modesty that have been
183 taught them by their parents according to the Isneg code; but in
general I think that the morals of young people are decidedly loose.
577 *Magdaldalló* (joking one another, boys and girls), *magkabddl* (to
867 finger a girl's breasts; said only of boys), and similar terms, seem to
indicate that the teaching of their elders is not very successful. Add
to this that young men have free access at night to all houses where
girls of marriageable age may be found, and it will not be wondered
at that chastity is a rare flower among Isneg youth.

836 The fear of pregnancy and of its consequences is of course a great
deterrent to young people of both sexes, but, even leaving aside the
183 question of self-pollution, simple fornication must not be so exceed-
867 ingly rare after all. It is true that my informants usually assure
me that coitus is never practised among unengaged boys and girls of
mature age; but this in my opinion cannot be accepted without a
grain of salt. Indeed, the same men have also told me at first that
continence is imposed upon engaged couples before their marriage, but
I have learned since that the latter are free to sleep together as often
as they wish even though none of the usual ceremonies has yet been
performed,—and this I now know to be a universal custom all over
Apayaw.

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Not so long ago I opened two dormitories for High School students, one for boys and one for girls. These young people came here directly from their villages, for the most part without having received as yet any serious Christian instruction. Since that time I have been inclined more than once to stop the whole affair; at any rate I shall certainly never again accept them indiscriminately. If I had to watch them strictly only on one side, it would not be so bad; but when even some of the girls have to be kept under close surveillance, the situation becomes almost intolerable. The dormitories had barely been started, when I had to expel one boy and one girl: it was not simply a matter of the boy writing love letters, with the girl answering them; but he openly proposed in writing to sleep with her, and the girl consented, also in writing, and gave a date for their future meeting.

Recently one of the girls from the girls' dormitory told me that, at the time she was still studying in her home village, a few of her classmates had absolutely refused to study the prayers (to prepare for baptism), and this for the following reason: "If we were Christians we should not be allowed any more to sleep with the boys at night [using each other's arm for a pillow; not: performing coitus], and this we cannot endure". The last part of this sentence is here put down textually, just as I heard it.

Coeducation which obtains in the public schools helps not a little to take away the small restraint that native Isneg teaching may have produced, and the example of persons who should show them better ways is sometimes far from being an aid to our frail young people on the arduous path of purity and chastity.

Nevertheless children born out of wedlock are the exception. How can we explain this? There is no question of contraceptive measures or voluntary abortion as far as I know, so the reason has to be found elsewhere. This state of affairs may be explained either by the practice of solitary vice or by marriage subsequent on the pregnancy of the girl in every case. Now the latter explanation is in my opinion more often concordant with the actual facts than the former. The boys go to *mamabdy* (court the girls) early in life, and they may have had sex relations very often before the dreaded result occurred. Besides Isneg boys and girls marry very early, and they are allowed to sleep together as soon as they are engaged, so that it is an easy matter to arrange everything in such a way as not to cause the child to be considered as born out of wedlock. Public education as it is in

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178 vogue here now tends to retard marriage; but its introduction is still
177 too recent and it is still too much the privilege of the few, to be able
sensibly to affect the standard of morality among our Isneg.

837 As to conjugal fidelity, it may be said that an unfaithful wife is
the exception among the Isneg; but with reference to the men, the
183 situation is not so bright. Even polygyny is not always sufficient
184 to put a curb to the husband's license: indeed only the rich can afford
to take more than one wife, and these at the same time usually enjoy
the greatest freedom on account of their wealth and social influence.

577 To sum up the situation, it may be said that open immorality and
183 indecency is much less frequent among the Isneg than among several
171 other Mountain tribes, but, although more or less well concealed, loose
836 morals are rather the rule than the exception among young unmarried
people, and among married people the state of affairs leaves much to
be desired. "Doing that which may make a girl pregnant" is not
what the Isneg abhors, but "making a girl actually pregnant".

577 With reference to honesty, the Isneg generally observes the rules
laid down by his own code, and transgressions are rare. Isneg thieves
183 are not at all common, and downright robbery, even from the Ibanag
685 or the *idamundá* (enemies of his own tribe), is a rare occurrence. This
858 is true of children as well as of adults, although the former may
867 occasionally try to pilfer fruits or other eatables, in which, never-
theless, they are never encouraged by their elders, who rarely fail
to scold them and even to punish them.

577 Truthfulness also is quite ordinary among adult Isneg, but many
867 youngsters need frequent correction on the subject. In this connec-
158 tion, however, we should bear in mind the existence of two inveterate
183 habits not only among the Isneg, but also among the generality of
811 Malays with whom I have come in contact. And first, whenever he
is caught at something that might elicit from you even the smallest
reprimand, he has always an excuse ready at the tip of his tongue,
and any excuse will do, however preposterous it may be; he never
reasons about it, the truth is not what he aims at, but the plain pre-
sentation of an excuse, be it real or imaginary. These people are
certainly experts in that line.

577 Just to give a few examples. One day I was very much astonished
158 to find that all my bananas had disappeared, although they were care-
183 fully stored away in a closed press, so I suspected, and not without
811 reason, that one of my Isneg boys had found them to his taste. At
the first occasion I bluntly asked the fellow what had happened to

832 are reciprocated by his sweetheart. To do this he proceeds exactly
787 in the same way as does the Isneg who is intending to go on a jour-
584 ney: he observes the flight of the *labág* bird, whose female is called
[718] *malazi-bát*, and if the bird fails to cross his path, the omen is good;
if it crosses his path, however, he will wait for another occasion in
the not too distant future in order to observe again the flight of the
labág, and, in case of a favorable answer, to go on with his intentions.

584 The definite steps just referred to consist in the following: the
young man takes a bundle of betel leaves, some fifty or more betel
nuts, and a ring; he rolls everything in a handkerchief, and carries
his precious burden to the house of his sweetheart, some time in the
evening. Once there he drops the whole package, called *luptág*, into
one of the girl's *aligmamán* baskets, without saying the least word
about the same. If the girl brings it back to him, it is a sign of
refusal on her part but if she keeps it, the boy knows for certain
that his love has been reciprocated, and both consider themselves as
engaged by tacit agreement.

From now on the young man will pay his girl regular visits, even
though he may continue occasionally to see other girls. If such visits
should stop for a considerable time, although without direct fault of
the boy, any Isneg girl would have to conclude that the boy's love
had shifted toward somebody else. Should the boy break the engage-
ment, either on his own account or in obedience to the wishes of his
elders, he is liable to be fined by the parents of the outraged girl.

To know for sure that the other party's interest has not slackened,
Isneg lovers sometimes resort to the proposal of a date for some
future meeting. If the girl does not appear at the trysting place,
the boy is *maikáwa* (disappointed, annoyed), as this is an unmis-
takable sign that the girl does not love him any more; if the boy fails
to make an appearance, the girl knows that his love toward her has
ceased. Although this is done by young people, whether engaged or
not, it goes without saying that in the former case it takes place
only if some doubt has arisen in the boy's mind or in that of the girl
as to the faithfulness of his or her partner.

584 As soon as two people have become engaged, actual Isneg custom
836 allows them to have sexual relations, although no ceremonies have
been performed and they are not yet living together. This happens
very often of course when the boy goes to see his girl in the evening.
A boy who passes his evenings or nights at the house of the girl to
whom he has become engaged, is said to *mazal-alláy* or *mazad-adúg*.

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This, however, does not necessarily imply that he has coitus with her, nor does it always signify that marriage will take place and that the engagement will not be broken. It simply means that he sleeps with her (*magkadorñ*, "to sleep together"). All this goes to show that the parents of the bride generally know about the whole affair long before any steps have been taken on the part of the boy's relatives, so that they have ample time to put a stop to it, if they have any objections to the marriage in question. It is not rare even to hear the girl's parents tell the young couple, while they are together in the evening: "*Ard, mañipatugnùlkayo no piyñnu ya mazatáwa*", "Hollo, have the *tugnùl* [which will be explained presently] performed if you want to marry".

No sooner has the young man obtained complete assurance of the fact that his love is being reciprocated by his sweetheart, than he informs his parents about the matter at the first opportunity. Should they object, he will of course insist as much as possible, at least if his desire to marry that particular girl is very serious. And if nevertheless his parents obstinately refuse to give their consent, then the boy will either break off all further relations with the girl and try his luck with somebody else, or the parties will elope and wait for better times to perform the customary ceremonies. And for some of them they will not have to wait long, as the parents of the girl will not fail to claim as soon as possible the payment which is their due.

3. Premarital Negotiations and Observances

In case the parents of the boy agree to his marriage with the girl he has chosen for his future wife, which of course is the general rule, they themselves from now on attend to further developments. And so there begins a whole series of transactions and ceremonies which I shall try now to describe as faithfully as possible.

Except where especially noted, everything is performed in the same way for any kind of marriage, whether the man be a widower or a divorcee, whether he be young or married already and attempting a second marriage. Nevertheless if the woman is a widow or a divorcee, marriage is very often contracted as in the case of an elopement, and the payment due to the parents of the bride is made after both husband and wife have been living together for some time.

And first, the *amómán*. *Mazamómán* in general means "to converse, to make a contract". In some districts, instead of *mazamómán*, the Isneg use the term *umuná*, "to enter the house". In this con-

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fere in the least: consequently she does not *maxanito* or impersonate the spirits of the dead, and remains completely in the background, if indeed she happens to be present. And the same is true with reference to the *akit* or marriage ceremony: here also there is a feast and a killing of animals, but no *maxanito*. The Isneg probably believe that spirits and ghosts have nothing to do with something that is exclusively the business of living human beings, as an *amómān* or betrothal and an *akit* or marriage undoubtedly are.

Nevertheless it may happen that the *amómān* takes place at the time a *sāy-ām* sacrifice is in progress at the house of the girl, and then of course the *maxanito* will be performed as usual, as no ceremonies connected with the customary *sāy-ām* are ever omitted; but this *maxanito* will generally be performed before the arrival of the *patúgān*, and in any case it has nothing to do with the *amómān*. The only reason why an *amómān* slightly interferes with the ceremonies of the *sāy-ām* is the fact that on such coincidences the female spirit *Sisina* has to be especially remembered. Two coconut shells, one partly filled with *bási* (a beverage obtained from sugar cane) and another one partially filled with dog's blood, have to be put down in her honor somewhere along the path that leads to the spot where the women draw water for drinking purposes. This is done in order to induce *Sisina* to look after the young couple and to see to it that both are of one mind and avoid all disputes and altercations.

The *amómān*, at least if it has resulted to the satisfaction of everybody, does not interfere in the least with the usual nocturnal visits of the groom to the house of the bride. He continues to *maxal-alláy* as before, that is, to sleep with her, and even to have coitus if they so desire. Actually in several districts they even translate the term *mazamómān* by that of *mazatáwa*, "to marry"; and in this case, of course, the subsequent ceremony of the *akit*, after which the two young people are allowed to live together, must in their minds have lost most of its significance.

B. WEDDING RITES AND CUSTOMS

A certain period of time always elapses between the *amómān* and the real marriage or *akit*, but it is impossible to determine exactly its length. In some cases a month is sufficient for all interested parties to prepare themselves properly for this most important ceremony; in others, even a whole year may pass by before the marriage finally takes place.

[584] then there is always a way open to them, and divorce is not so ^{But} very uncommon among the Isneg as to be considered an extraordinary event.

[585] [836] Bride and groom having already had coitus more than once, there is no question of course of ceremonial defloration, *jus primae noctis*, looking for proofs of virginity, and so on. The morning after the *akit*, the *tádug* is brought over to the house of the girl's parents, and triumphantly escorted by a large group of people. Here a chicken is killed in order to celebrate the happy event, and all present are allowed to partake of it, but some of the blood must be smeared on the objects that make up the *tádug*. This is called *banit*: the girl's parents are those who *mamanit*, they *banitan* the *tádug*.

585 One or two days later a certain quantity of sweets is again prepared at the house of the bride's parents, for the ceremony called 263 *lablabág*; but the *pinatará*-variety of cakes is taboo on this occasion. The reason is that it would cause the future offspring of the newly wed to get sore ears (a kind of otitis with concomitant suppuration).

[805] On the third day, three nights (the Isneg always count by nights, not by days) after the *akit*, the young couple *maglablabág*: they first 585 go to observe the flight of the *labág* bird. If the omen is bad, nothing will be done and a more favorable occasion will be awaited, because to go ahead under the circumstances would entail the early death of one of the interested parties. The whole *lablabág* ceremony, however, is almost always performed on that day anyhow, as there is more than one hour in a day and more than one *labág* bird in Apayaw. After having obtained a good augury, if the house of the boy's parents is near, the young couple direct their steps toward it in the 585 afternoon; otherwise they start in the morning. The members of their 262 escort carry all eatables prepared for this occasion, and these are then distributed to the people at the house of the groom. These eatables,—sweets, meat, etc.—are called *talinabaw*, but the cakes are far from being as abundant as at the time of the *akit*. The whole ceremony, beginning with the observance of the flight of the *labág* and ending with the distribution of the *talinabaw* at the house of the boy's parents, is called *lablabág*.

585 The next day, four nights after the *akit*, the husband goes to live (*maggiyán*) with his young wife at the latter's house, and stays there as long as has been determined at the *amómán*, after which he takes his wife home to his parents' house, where the woman stays (*maggiyán*) from now on. In case the groom does not stay at the house

727 ally the houses are burnt. The attacking warriors withdraw after a time and start for home with what heads they have secured.

If the warriors have secured some heads, they start shouting in triumph while still some distance from home. The women answer and come out to meet them. There is much victorious clamour. Each successful warrior hacks his heads in pieces and either places them on bamboos in front of his house, or else hangs them in the convenient large tree sacred to his especial *anito*. They are decorated with flowers. Then the people hold a feast, called *boda*, at which they eat and drink; but do not dance. The main event is the [537] triumphal shouting of the warriors. Each relates in a chant the mighty deeds which he has done.

MARRIAGE

582 A youth is free to select and woo the girl of his
584 choice—with his nose flute, *baling*, or a kind of jews-
[534] harp, *oribao*, or by other means common to youth the
[836] world over. If she is agreeable, the courtship becomes
serious and they enter into an arrangement, *aluloy*,
whereby the sleep together for a period of from three
months to a year. They are in earnest in this affair.
for they know that, if it does not result in marriage,
they must pay a heavy fine. Their object is pregnancy.

583 When the youth decides to have the marriage, he
584 requests his parents to deliver several baskets of rice
cakes to the house of the girl. All the relatives of
both parties are notified and assemble in the house
to arrange for the wedding. They have a feast: rice.

pleasing lift or perchance composing words in honor of some guest or circumstance. The tune used is called the *salecdomey*. Somewhere a boy may be openly courting the girl of his choice in a characteristic chant, but often composing his own words. Food and sweets may be served two or three times in the night, and the party goes on with increasing excitement, as more and more *basi* is consumed. Drunken quarrels may break out, leading to blows. Killings are not infrequent. One must have had quite a few drinks in order to really enjoy this party.

Along towards morning the music stops and tired people lie down to sleep—either in that or adjacent houses. If, perchance, a boy has been successful in his courtship, he may follow his girl to where she lies down. After some further discussion, she ably accepts him.

The feast may continue the next day and next, according to the wishes and wealth of the family, and how long the *basi* and food lasts. At the end of the feast, the priestess again calls the *anito*: she tells it that they hope that it is pleased with its feast and will now grant their requests. Then the guests start for home. The relatives are each given some meat to take with them, and soon all is quiet again.

Probably the most popular feast is the *say-am*, given for the *anito*, Pilay, after the harvest. The *dildap* is a small, short feast given for the *anito* *Kay-bacan*, sometimes for the health or welfare of the family, or to clinch some agreement. There is no dancing. The *magboto* is given before, and the *boda* after. a head hunting expedition as described elsewhere. The

THE PREGNANT WOMAN

000 There were two brothers, Dinkoan and Linadolan; and two sisters, Dommamia and Lananan. While the two sisters were bathing in the river, it happened that they saw a burning bundle of rice. It was like puffed rice; so Lananan ate some. The burnt rice had been thrown into the river by Enoy, who was taking a bath above them in the river.

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● 836 When the brothers found out that their sister was pregnant, they were ashamed, and they decided [152] to put her in the thick forest. So they took her to gather bark for G-strings. As Lananan gathered the bark of a tree for the G-string, it became cloth; but the bark which the brothers gathered remained bark. When they saw this, they became jealous and asked her for some cloth. She did not like to share the cloth; so all the rest became angry and ran away from her. She shouted and shouted; but no one answered her. She kept hunting for the way to go home; but could not find it. At night-fall she found a flat stone on which she slept.

789 After sleeping a few hours, she awoke and saw several fine houses nearby and there was a fire burning. When she looked further, she saw a number of granaries full of rice. She entered one of the houses and found a stick of sugar cane. She peeled it, cut it into pieces, threw them out the door, and prayed: "May each of these pieces become a pig." They did so. Thus Lananan become a rich woman.

000 Her brothers became very anxious to see her, as they missed her. They asked their cousins, Ewagan